chupu--manioc
hianketi-soparo--long-eared yellow maize
huati-soparo--a white variety of maize
ilomei--digging stick made from the wood of the "palo santa"
imóheve--anklets
imotáki--bracelets
ipuhicoti-hiuka--birth
itishovoti--moiety council meetings
kali ita'aka--a small calabash which is a symbol of moiety chieftainship
kuati-soparo --a mixed-color ear of maize
nakóti--necklaces
nimake--a large bag made from yulu fibers
nóneovokúti--a central plaza around which Terena houses are built
oneu--the village
ovokúti--Terena house
repenóti--a sleeveless cotton shirt
shipa--maize cake
shiripá--a cotton loincloth

● 104

shumonó--name of a moiety meaning "wild people"
shuna'asheti--war chief; war class
soparo--maize (in general)
suati-chupu--bitter manioc
sukirikionó--a moiety name meaning "gentle people"
unati ashé--moiety chief
veri--a small bag made from yulu fibers

kauti--war captives
koipinapati--spirits of the dead
koixomuneti--doctor-sorcerer
machatichane--field laborers
naati (naati-atte)--chiefs
shunachati--warriors
waherê-txané (maxati-txane)--people

3:Oliveira--11 E-5 (1955-1958) 1960 SK7 Guana SK7
Terena
Guarani SM4
Mbaya SK11
Cayapo SP11

/19/

G
Gi
M
101

I. The Terêna, A Guaná Subgroup

The southern region of the state of Mato Grosso, which extends between the 20° and 22° parallels and the 54° and 58° meridians, is partially occupied by Terêna Indians (1) who,

G
[104]
[113]

1. The spelling of tribal names follows the conventions set down by the 1.ª Reunião Brasileira de Antropologia (Rio, 1953), on making tribal names uniform, whose text was published in the Revista de Antropologia, Vol. 2, No. 2, December, 1954, São Paulo.

along with the Kaiwá /Cayua/ (2) and Kadiwéu /Caduveo/

2. We give the generic name Kaiwá to the Guarani groups of southern Mato Grosso, because this subgroup is the largest Guarani unit in the area, the Nandéva being in the minority and thus not appearing separately in the estimates of the Serviço de Proteção aos Índios, which includes them all under the name Kaiwá.

groups, are the only remaining indigines of the Guaná, Guarani, and Mbayá-Guaikurú tribal populations which in not too distant times occupied that area of southern Brazil.(3).

G
C
101
175

3. Among the innumerable tribes and subtribes that vanished still in

G /40 cont./ [Traditional Culture]
567 from the Xamacocos, a wild tribe that lives farther downriver
101 on the right bank of the (Paraguay) river." (58)

58. 1949:247.

G
565 These passages show that tribal stratification into three distinct strata existed: (a) Chiefs ("big" and "small"), (b) People, and (c) Captives. Later on, we shall describe in detail what each of these strata meant within the social structure. Meanwhile we shall merely give the Terêna names for these
G strata--and which we shall use from now on when we wish to re-
[104] fer to them. Respectively, we have: (a) Naati or Naati-Atxé, (b) Waherê-Txané or Maxati-Txané (respectively: "ugly people" and "people who ask": this last term was heard only at Bananal
M aldea, where it seems to be the equivalent of Waherê-Txané),
565 and (c) Kauti. Comparing them with the Mbayá-Guaikurú, we also seem to have had three strata, as can be ascertained by this passage by Rodrigues do Prado: "The Guaicuru nation is divided into three parts: the first is that of the nobles, whom they call captains, and their wives, ladies /donas/, a title they also give to the daughters; the other part they call soldiers, which is passed from father to sons; and the third, which is the largest, is that of the captives, a name given to all those they seize in war and to their descendants." (59) We see here that

M
565
631 59. 1839, I:27. Now Sanches Labrador, similarly to his interpretation regarding the Guaná--as we saw above--gives the following explanation on the nature of the Mbayá-Guaikurú strata: "...the present-day caciques append the surname "Big Captains";

/41 cont./ [Traditional Culture]

175 Meanwhile, we must also consider, in relation to the observations of Labrador and Castelnau, with respect to the Guaná, the interval of a century that lies between the presence of one and the other near those Indians, in 1760 and 1845 respectively, and which will contribute a great deal to our understanding of the dynamics of the old social system. While 175 721 [565] Castelnau notes the presence of captives in the Guaná communities, Labrador does not. The first conclusion that comes to mind is that the Guaná may have begun their raiding expeditions in more recent times, most probably only in the fourteenth /sic/ century, either as allies of the Mbayá-Guaikurú or even alone. The chronicle in this respect does not enlighten us. Nevertheless, it makes it quite clear that warrior expeditions were made and that Guaná local groups participated in them, probably incited by the Guaikurú forays, although it is not impossible that at some time their non-Chaco ancestors, typical Arúák--as Max Schmidt would say--might have carried out /raids/. (61)

61. Cf. Max Schmidt, 1917, Chap. III.

114 565 But let us consider yet another passage, written already in our century, referring specifically to the Terêna, which [104] in a way complements the preceding ones. It is by the Protestant minister, Alexander Rattray-Hay, according to whom "among the Terêna, three distinct strata are recognized: the Naati (chiefs), the Shunachati (warriors), and the Machatichane [654] (field laborers). A warrior may ascend through election to the stratum of chiefs, but a field laborer can only reach the warrior [178] [567] class through the death of an enemy in war." (62) Rattray-Hay

62. 1928:108-109.

does not mention the Kauti simply because this institution no

178 cont./ [Passarinho, Moreira, and União]

621 and so close to them has the city come, by virtue of natural
[[62] development and expansion. Nowadays, Passarinho and Moreira number, respectively, 109 and 130 inhabitants, who make up a relatively homogeneous population consisting largely of Terena Indians (who identify themselves as "pure"), mestizos, and an occasional neo-Brazilian.

439 The means of communication of these aldeas connect
366 them with Miranda by a small road, at the entry of which
[[41] there is a "bolicho" (141) that supplies the Indians with hard-

● [[04]

141. "Bolicho" is a regional term applied to the small roadside stores that have in stock all kinds of merchandise, from food to cloth and iron tools.

648 ware and drinks. The native post, located in Passarinho, has
439 not been in operation for many years; suffice it to say that
366 the last man in charge of it was the owner of that "bolicho" and never lived in the aldea or duly attended to it: on the contrary, he made use of his position to improve his business, at the cost of the exploitation of the Indians and civilizados thereabout. (142) This road connects Passarinho with Moreira,

142. To give an idea of the role that was played by this individual in the native community, it is enough to say that at the time of our visit to those aldeas, no one knew him as the post superintendent, but he was rather well known as "the bolicheiro." Aside from

6:Oliveira E-5 (1955-1958)1961 SK7 Guana SK7
Terena

a subordinated ethnic strata, the Arawak tribes would have had to meet two conditions. They had to enter into relationships with neighboring tribes and, next, these relationships had to be manipulated in such a way that they resulted in a state of dependence" (1917, Cap. III). If this did not happen with the Terena (or with the Guaná as a whole), since they had learned from the Mbayá-Guaikuru more efficient methods of capture (of Txamakoko, Txikito, Guató, etc., individuals),[8] they at least maintained a form of social organization that included the integration of prisioners of war —and their descendants— into the groups as laborers.

The consequence of this situation of dependence in Terena social structure was the creation of assymetrical relationships between this Arawak group and the Kauti (the Txané name used to designate the "captives" obtained in war or by the sorties organized for this purpose). It is true that these Kauti were not always best employed in agricultural work, since many of them came from tribes that subsisted on hunting and gathering techniques exclusively. These Kauti were assigned to less technical tasks or even used as domestic help. If such chroniclers as Taunay (1931 : 21) or Castelnau (1949 : 247) give a true picture, the treatment accorded the Kauti was the most benign possible, indicating more of a protective attitude than an exploitive one. For an agricultural people such as the Terena, the Kauti had little economic significance. They represented more a source of prestige (political, and only secondarily economic), not only for the in group, but principally in intertribal relations with the Mbayá-Guaikuru, their neighbors and allies. These latter made greater use of their "captives", also finding in them an important source for population increase, needed because of the customs of infanticide and abortion which increased sharply following the Spanish conquest of the Chaco. Although the Terena practised infanticide, it never reached the proportions it did among the Mbayá-Guaikuru, and especially among the Kadiwéu. Probably the place given to the Kauti in Terena society would correspond roughly to that accorded strangers, ethnically different and, as a consequence, treated with a certain indifference and as objects of trade, i. e., to be calculated as goods in tribal commerce (Taunay, 1931 : 21). Yet it is a fact that the Kauti, as a "class", were integrated into Terena social structure, since the structure provided the means

[8] Words from the Indian language have been transcribed according to the convention of the Brazilian Anthropological Association, as published in the *Revista de Antropologia* Vol. II, N° 2, December, 1954. This convention attempted to mediate the problems of accurate transcription and usual lack of phonetic type fonts. The only symbols that are somewhat unusual are x=sh, tx=tsh, ch Stress is written only when it falls on a syllable other than that stressed under normal Portuguese usage.